

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00045 01 OF 02 051736Z

41

ACTION SS-25

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P R 051625Z MAR 76
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2967
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0045

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MR. KARPOV'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 5, 1976
(SALT TWO-928)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MR. KARPOV AT THE
SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 5, 1976

KARPOV STATEMENT, MARCH 5, 1976

I

AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE PREPARATION OF THE JOINT
DRAFT TEXT IS TO WORK OUT, ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS,
DEFINITIONS OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE LIMITED
UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS OF
PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE THAT THE DEFINITIONS BEING WORKED
OUT BE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE CONTENT OF THE RELEVANT
EXISTING SOVIET-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDINGS, AND NOT ALLOW
ARBITRARY INTERPRETATION OF WHAT IS SUBJECT TO LIMITATION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00045 01 OF 02 051736Z

WITHIN THE AGGREGATE LEVELS BEING ESTABLISHED.

ONE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT DEFINITIONS FOR PURPOSES OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS, THE SUBJECT MATTER OF ARTICLE II, PARA. 3.

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DELEGATIONS' INSTRUCTIONS, COINCIDING OR CLOSE ELEMENTS HAVE BECOME EVIDENT ON THIS QUESTION, WHICH FORM A BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS. AT THE SAME TIME CERTAIN DIFFERENCES ALSO REMAIN.

IN ORDER TO ENSURE FURTHER PROGRESS ON THIS QUESTION, AT THE FEBRUARY 9, 1976 MEETING OF THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A PROPOSAL FOR A HEAVY BOMBER DEFINITION AS FOLLOWS:

"ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 3

HEAVY BOMBERS ARE BOMB OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE DELIVERY AIRCRAFT: FOR THE U.S. , B-52 AND B-1; FOR THE USSR, TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV; AND FOR BOTH PARTIES IN THE FUTURE, NEW AIRCRAFT TO BE DEVELOPED, HAVING CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED HEAVY BOMBERS. INCLUSION OF SUCH AIRCRAFT AMONG THE SYSTEMS BEING LIMITED SHALL BE DECIDED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS BY CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, INCLUDING CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION."

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO SET FORTH SOME ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS IN EXPLANATION AND SUBSTANTIATION OF THE TEXT OF THE DEFINITION, SUBMITTED IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE II, PAR.3, IS FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

THE FORMULATION SUBMITTED IS IN STRICT CONFORMITY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00045 01 OF 02 051736Z

WITH THE CONTENT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, NAMELY WITH THE PROVISION CONTAINED IN SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A) OF THAT DOCUMENT, ESTABLISHING THAT THE 2400 AGGREGATE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES INCLUDES, ALONG WITH LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, "HEAVY BOMBERS IF THE LATTER ARE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE NOT EXCEEDING

600 KILOMETERS."

IT FOLLOWS QUITE OBVIOUSLY FROM THIS PROVISION OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST DEAL WITH LIMITING PRECISELY HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES, AND BY NO MEANS WITH LIMITING "TYPES OF AIRCRAFT HOWEVER CONFIGURED." THIS MEANS THAT THE SYSTEMS BEING LIMITED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST INCLUDE PRECISELY HEAVY BOMBERS, AND NOT SOME KIND OF OTHER AIRCRAFT WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS.

AIRCRAFT TO BE LIMITED CANNOT BE ANY MEANS INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, TANKER AIRCRAFT REGARDLESS OF TYPE. THE APPROACH ADVANCED HERE PRIOR TO THE WORKING RECESS, UNDER WHICH SOVIET TANKER AIRCRAFT WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED, IS NOT APPROPRIATE EITHER FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE PROVISION ON LIMITING HEAVY BOMBERS, CONTAINED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, OR IN TERMS OF EMBODYING IN THE NEW AGREEMENT THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD MEAN THAT SOVIET TANKER AIRCRAFT WOULD BE AMONG SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED, WHILE U.S. TANKER AIRCRAFT WOULD REMAIN OUTSIDE THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED.

IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE IN ACCORD WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. TANKER AIRCRAFT ARE TANKER AIRCRAFT, NOT HEAVY BOMBERS, AND ACCORDING TO THE AIDE-MEMOIRE THEY ARE NOT SUBJECT TO INCLUSION IN THE EQUAL OVERALL 2400 LEVEL.

THE SOVIET FORMULATION OF ARTICLE II, PAR.3, BY

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PAGE 01 SALT T 00045 02 OF 02 051750Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0045

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

SPECIFICALLY DESIGNATING THE BOMB OR AIR-TO-SURFACE
MISSILE DELIVERY AIRCRAFT, NAMELY FOR THE U.S., B-52
AND B-1; FOR THE USSR, TUPOLEV-95 AND MYSASHCHEV,
PROVIDES A CLEAR-CUT RESOLUTION, FULLY IN ACCORD WITH
THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, OF THE QUESTION
OF WHICH AIRCRAFT OF THE SIDES WOULD BE SUBJECT TO
LIMITATION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE SOVIET FORMULATION OF ARTICLE II, PAR .3, ALSO
CLEARLY ANSWERS HOW TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING
APPROPRIATE NEW AIRCRAFT TO BE DEVELOPED AMONG THE
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE LIMITED UNDER THE NEW
AGREEMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PHRASE PROPOSED BY
THE SOVIET SIDE " WITH CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR
TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED HEAVY
BOMBERS," CONCERNING NEW AIRCRAFT TO BE DEVELOPED WHICH
WOULD BE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE
AGGREGATE NUMBERS BEING ESTABLISHED, ACCURATELY REFLECTS
THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MATTER, AND IS CONSISTENT WITH THE
CONTENT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00045 02 OF 02 051750Z

I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT
THE NEW WORDING WE HAVE TABLED FOR ARTICLE II, PARA 3,
TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE OBSERVATIONS MADE IN THE COURSE
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE WORDS "NUCLEAR
WEAPON DELIVERY," INCLUDED THEREIN EARLIER, AND CONTAINS
AN APPROPRIATE MODIFICATION. THE NEW SOVIET WORDING
OF THE HEAVY BOMBER DEFINITION CONTAINS OTHER MODIFICA-
TIONS AS WELL, AIMED AT BRINGING THE POSITIONS OF THE
SIDES ON THE QUESTION UNDER CONSIDERATION CLOSER TOGETHER.

I HOPE THAT THE ARGUMENTS PRESENTED BY THE USSR
DELEGATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROPOSAL WE TABLED
FOR THE HEAVY BOMBER DEFINITION WILL FACILITATE CONSIDERA-
TION OF THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE-
NESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS, A CONSIDERATION WAS EXPRESSED AND REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF DECEMBER 18, 1975, REGARDING A COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROVISION ON ARMS WHICH ARE OPERATIONAL (ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR. 1(A), AS IT APPLIES TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN COMPREHENSIVELY CONSIDERED BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO REACH FULL AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT, IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR. 1(A), THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECT THE STIPULATION THAT ALL FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS EITHER OPERATIONAL OR UNDER ACTIVE CONSTRUCTION ON MAY 26, 1972 (EXCEPT FOR TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE VII), WILL BE CONSIDERED OPERATIONAL AS OF OCTOBER 3, 1977, UNLESS DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED EARLIER IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROCEDURES WORKED OUT IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00045 02 OF 02 051750Z

THE USSR DELEGATION'S PROPOSAL ON THIS QUESTION WAS PREPARED WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE VII WHICH RECORDS THAT THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT SHALL NOT APPLY TO ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS. THUS, THE FORMULATION WE HAVE TAILED PROVIDES A COMPLETE AND CLEAR-CUT SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS WHICH WILL BE CONSIDERED OPERATIONAL AS OF OCTOBER 3, 1977.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES IN THIS AREA COINCIDE, IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO REFER THIS QUESTION TO THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP.

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Message Attributes

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